1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

These completed the unification of the two families through the marriage of a son and daughter, a process that had begun with the formalities surrounding the making of *tuia*. In fact, such alliances by marriage marked in the most thorough manner the alliance of tribes, for as a result of them all the people were made as one family or tribe. Hence, the great public importance and splendor of these rites.

Celibacy and Perverted Instincts

It is said that there were occasional celibates, both male and female. *Mahoi* or *mahu* were men who adopted the life of a woman, dressed in woman's garb, allowing their hair to grow long. They devoted themselves to all the activities and relationships of women rather than to those of men. Native informants told me that these men were not deformed physically, but that they merely preferred a woman's life and desired men. Dordillon gives the meaning of *mahoi* as sterile and of *enatá mahu io te fa'e* as "a man who scarcely goes out from his house." These celibates seem to have been few in the Marquesas.

DEATH

Mourning

As death approached and for some time following it, mourning was very violent on the part of women, consisting in a wailing chant, that may be characterized as an exaggerated, slow trill on the various vowel sounds made deep in the throat. Dordillon (8, p. 62) prints this wailing chant in the following way:

"Ke, ke, ke, ke, ke, ke, ke, ke, ke!
á, á, á, á, á, á, á, á, á, á, á, á, á, á,
é, é, é, é, é, é, é, é, é, é, é, é, é, é, é,
í, í, í, í, í, í, í, í, í, í, í, í, í, í, í, í, í,
ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó,
ú, ú, ú, ú, ú, ú, ú, ú, ú, ú, ú,

This he calls *ue haaneinei (ue,* to weep; *haa nei nei,* make near). The vowel sound was sustained as long as the breath permitted. Sometimes between two vowels some words were inserted.

E te hakaiki e, e, e, e, ... e!—O chief!
Aia a tani ia oe! Umoi e mate! i, i, i, i . . . . i!—Here you are mourned! Do not die!
A pohue te hakaiki! o, o, o, o, ... o!—May the chief recover!
E te hakaiki, e, aia te heia! u, u, u, u, ... u!—O chief!

This wailing is done at the time of death at the present day. It is entirely a histrionic performance. A woman usually goes through it a number of times, resting, smoking, talking, and laughing in between times, and

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

would be multiple copulation in public, the women taking pride in the number of men they could satisfy before tiring. One nice old woman boasted that she had once taken on the entire crew of a whaleboat and had been able to leave them all happy. Under such circumstances, however, the woman rarely had more than one orgasm. 833

In addition to these public affairs, there were, of course, many private ones. These involved even more elaborate forms of sexual play, with the woman definitely dominant, and the man playing up to her erotic wishes. His role was to excite the woman by sucking her breasts and cunnilingus until she was excited to a high pitch and gave the signal for intercourse. These erotic preliminaries were quite devoid of tenderness, and often involved scratching and biting on both sides. The sexual play was apparently of greater importance than the actual orgiastic experience. 836 833

All Marquesans were sexually potent, but the potency of the woman was dependent upon these elaborate preliminaries, without which it was impossible for her to have an orgasm, a trait not uncommon in primitive societies and due perhaps to early conditioning in prolonged inorgiastic play. I never heard of a case of impotence among males, nor were there any stories of malevolent magic being used to produce loss of potency, although magic was used against men in other connections. The absence of this belief is fairly accurate proof that the phenomenon of impotence was unknown. 833

The natives never revealed the identity of their partners when discussing their love affairs. A man once told me of an experience he had had with a woman who was so slow in reaching the pitch of excitement necessary for intercourse that he had broken away and refused to continue. The woman thereupon attacked him savagely, biting and clawing; it was to explain his honorable scars that he told me the story. He seemed to consider that the joke was on the woman, but refused to tell her name.

I heard of no cases of female homosexuality, which would 838

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

838 indeed seem unnecessary in Marquesan society. There was some homosexuality among males; pederasty, however, was rare, the usual form being mutual fellatio. There were occasional cases of transvestites who assumed the woman's role and sometimes entered the household as subsidiary wives, though they never became head wives and were held in considerable contempt.

581 831 562 The erotic skill and attractiveness of women had considerable bearing on their social status in mature life, as the most desirable girls would be chosen for head wives in important households. The women had a great deal of social mobility, since a man picked his wife on a basis of sexual attainment rather than rank, and the competition was keen, the women vying with one another in the excellence of their sexual techniques.

831 762 The idea of exclusive sexual possession was almost lacking in the Marquesas, and was certainly socially disapproved. There were a few monogamous unions based upon it, but such an arrangement doomed the household to insignificance. Apparently there was a distinction between the gang sexual activities and the private affairs previously mentioned. In the former a girl gave herself to every boy in the gang at one time or another. In the latter there was selection, and rebuff might result in suicide. Such suicides were stereotyped. Men climbed a tall cocoanut tree and dived off head first; women ate a poisonous fruit. Beautiful girls were often exceedingly cruel and fickle in their dealings with their lovers. They would lead them on and then rebuff them publicly. A standard story in the islands, which may not be true but is quite in line with native attitudes, is that of a white man who fell in love with a beautiful girl. She refused to give herself to him unless he would have his face tattooed in native fashion. He submitted to this, then she laughed at him publicly and told him he was now so hideous she would have nothing to do with him. The man lived on in the islands for years, unable to return to his own people, while the girl enjoyed her triumph. Unmarried men frequently committed suicide because of rebuffs; married men rarely if ever. Unmarried women, on the other hand, rarely committed suicide.

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The sequence of vaginal astringents is terminated at puberty, but a new type of medication is begun in some cases, to alter the color of the mucus membranes and the labiae. It [856] is believed to be shameful for the labiae or mucus lining of the vulva to be excessively ruddy in color, hence a preparation of chopped young coconut meat is applied over the vulva to [824] alter the color of the parts in question. A supposed secondary effect of this medication is to render the pubic hair (hu'u hu'u) more pliable and soft, as coarse pubic hair is considered to be somewhat unbecoming.

/33/ Girls at puberty continue to receive sexual instruc- 864 tions from their grandmothers or members of the grandmother's [602] generation, but much is also learned from more sexually ad- [603] vanced friends. At this age, Marquesan girls are often seen [883] together, talking secretively for long periods of time. The [521] talks almost invariably involve sexual matters. For this reason, government school teachers state that it is wiser to release [875] girls from school at this point, as their interests often attract [871] and produce "adverse" effects on younger girls in the lower grades of school.

At puberty, female homosexuality occurs. One context 864 in which some homosexual play takes place is during instruc- 838 tion of relatively sexually inexperienced girls by others who are more experienced. In such instruction, both girls remove their clothing and assume a position of copulation. The instructor supposedly demonstrates the positions of intercourse and the pelvic movements, acting first as the "girl" and then the "boy" of the couple.

Although very much at ease with each other in states of 291 undress, girls at puberty become very self-conscious about ap- 883 pearing in mixed company in any type of attire that might be termed daring. In intercourse they seldom remove all of their [833] clothing, usually merely pulling up their skirt, even if there is no probability of being surprised en flagrante. Swimming is [526] indulged in fully dressed, if there is any possibility of being observed, while bathing nude in secluded pools is quite com- [515] mon and semi-nudity around the house is the rule.

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argyrostoma). Therefore, the glans characteristic of this type was probably quite large, circular in section, possessing a blunt terminus and possibly a slightly everted urethral meatus.

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Marquesan males are quite careful to conceal their genitals in the presence of strange Europeans. It would thus be easy for a short-term observer to be completely misled and attribute intense modesty to them. /52/ Such modesty would be completely erroneous, however. Complete nudity is quite common among male groups, especially in fishing parties or in bathing groups, where no attempts are made to conceal the genitals. In such groups, there is a continual undercurrent of sexual horseplay and joking involving the qualities of the genitalia of those present. Some of this verges on the homosexual as will be discussed below. Males will also construct female torsos in the wet sand at the waters edge, and copulate with them briefly, or pile and rub wet sand gently around the penis while seated at the waters edge or in the shallows. There is much concealed curiosity among Marquesans over the genital anatomy of Europeans, particularly regarding the foreskin and results of circumcision in general, as well as for the inevitable comparisons of size.

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In adolescence, homosexuality among males appears with sharply increased frequency. An explanation of the term "homosexual" in Marquesan terms is necessary before proceeding further. Although we will discuss under this general rubric all the behavior that our society would label as homosexual, the Marquesans divide their behavioral continuum differently. Acts of homosexuality are accepted as a substitute for heterosexual relations in time of scarcity of women and as especially characteristic of adolescent behavior. On the other hand, habitual homosexuality, in which female company is eschewed almost entirely and male lovers are taken, earns the appelation of mahu -- deviate. Such conduct in the male is usually associated with transvestitism to varying degrees, assumption of female economic roles and

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female kinesic habits. A transvestite is known as mahu'o hiva, 838
"homosexual of the ridge pole," referring to his abiding around the house in the performance of female chores.

Pederasty and mutual masturbation are common among normal male adolescents. Isolated male groups will often become so stimulated by their sexual talk and horseplay that these practices will be indulged. In pederasty, as in masturbation, the penis is moistened with saliva before introduction. The act of pederasty generally involves some discomfort for the subordinate of the pair, but it is generally a reciprocal practice; therefore, the discomfort is considered worth the sexual satisfaction obtained when the dominant role is assumed.

Masturbation contests are quite common in adolescence, as at earlier age levels. [839] [883]

Fellatio is apparently uncommon in "normal" male homosexual behavior, but is considered characteristic of the behavior of the mahu or homosexual deviate.

There are still a number of valleys on the major islands of the archipelago, in which the population is quite small and the females available as sexual partners are either few or completely absent. If adolescent boys are present in these valleys, they must either travel to other valleys at night to find girls, which may be difficult and dangerous; or, they must indulge in homosexual relations. Ho'dumi, one such valley that I visited on Nuku Hiva, had a population of 35 people. /54/ There were five or six adolescent boys and two unmarried girls who were sisters to two of the boys. The two girls were carefully supervised by their parents, and contacts were nearly impossible for the boys. The boys had formed a loose group for work and recreation which also served as the center for homosexual activities. During the period in which we conducted excavations in the valley, we had excellent opportunities to observe this group. They generally retired to the interior of the heavily overgrown valley for homosexual activities in the afternoon. Their activities were well-known to the workmen, who often chided them asking who had played the girl's role that day and if the person who did did not have a sore anus.

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There are relatively few mahu in the archipelago. I saw one transvestite, who lived with a woman and reputedly had fathered her children but was nevertheless definitely termed a mahu by the natives, having indulged in habitual homosexuality. This person had a very feminine physique with wide hips, narrow shoulders, and thin poorly muscled arms and legs, contrasting sharply to the usually heavily muscled Marquesan male. He walked with a feminine hip swing, used hand and arm motions like those of women, and wore a wrap-around skirt, a woman's blouse tied in a bare midriff fashion, and a string of shells. This person enjoyed a considerable reputation as a "laundress" and "seamstress," two characteristically female roles. [462]

Two other homosexuals, not transvestites but very markedly effeminate, were also married, using their wives to attract males and /55/ compromise them for homosexual acts. Both men maintained fairly regular male lovers. Other males who showed interest in the wives were propositioned and promised use of the wife if they would indulge in pederasty or fellation first with the husband. The women involved in these relationships did not appear to be overly concerned about the husband's deviation. Both of these individuals practiced fellatio with frequency as well as pederasty. At least one experienced a very strong orgasm during pederasty. Natives who had consorted with him remarked that he was "just like a woman: making noise in his orgasm." Fellatio was resorted to for the purpose of exciting a lagging male before pederasty, as well as to produce an orgasm. [832]

Female homosexuality occurs, but no data on frequency is available. One case of bestiality was noted in which a sexually deprived young girl in an isolated valley had used a dog to perform cunnilinctus with some regularity, in the absence of males. 839

Digital and mechanical masturbation is practiced by adolescent females also, probably more frequently in cases of sexual deprivation. Bananas and pundanus fruit segments [824]

/59 cont./ 183 831

Throughout adolescence and youth, the Marquesans participate to a greater or lesser extent in the behavior patterns and traits described above, depending on the features of their individual environments. There is a constant change in utilization of these practices, as features of the /60/ external environment change, resulting in a condition in which most individuals have run the entire gamut of sexual relations (with relative emphasis differing markedly), by the time that physiological maturity has been attained.

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Normal heterosexual relationships during this period consist of a series of courtships of various lengths, culminating in sexual intercourse. Both sexes develop and change these transient affections quite frequently. In some instances, deeper attachments develop, often with parental sanction for overt cohabitation. During and between courtships, regardless of degree of attachment, the male reserves the right to have sexual relations with anyone he wishes. Quite frequently a male uses several girls in rotation during the course of a few weeks, still retaining a stronger attachment to one. Homosexual practices are fleeting and impromtu, being entered into to fit immediate needs and nothing more, as are the rare occurrences of bestiality. [838]●

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As opposed to the normal girl, the promiscuous girl depends heavily on her sexual propensities to help her in the world, withdrawing from normal family life to lead an untrammeled existence, quite dependent, however, upon the bounty of her lovers and her friends. Promiscuous girls form a buffer between the community and foreign intruders, provide a source of education to the relatively uninitiated male, while serving as a means of gratification and entertainment for the male community at large.

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/61/ The relatively rare deviants, as defined by the Marquesans, also have an established role which they can play in the community.

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No information could be obtained on frigidity; therefore, it is impossible to state whether it exists or not.

Extramarital relations are common, appearing quite 837
soon after marriage and increasing in frequency as the couple approaches middle /68/ age. The male seeks sexual partners mainly among the wives of friends (many of whom may have been former lovers), promiscuous girls in the community, and the younger virginal girls with whom a married man often plays the role of sexual initiator. Relationships may also be with daughters-in-law (which is not considered incestuous) or [835] with blood relatives. The contacts take place most frequently in the bush, either by plan or chance, and at drinking bouts.

Females seek sexual partners among married males, and the young boys of the community. Contacts take place most frequently during the day when husbands are away from the house working their copra lands or gardens, as well as at night when husbands are likely to be out fishing.

Contacts of this type revert often to premarital behavior [833] patterns: intercourse is rapid and devoid of elaboration or variation.

Homosexuality involving married individuals is rare and 838 ●
practiced only under conditions of enforced abstinence. There is some indication that adult males prefer younger boys for this purpose, as the preference is frequently verbalized, the observation being made that young boys have softer bodies, more like those of girls. Such contacts are casual and fleeting, and do not lead to any permanent relationship between the parties involved. Permanent relationships are considered to be characteristic of the deviant mahu or male homosexual, and are regarded as unnatural.

/69/ Bestiality is indulged in by married individuals as 839
an emergency practice in situations of abstinence. Chickens are commonly used by males for copulation, and dogs are used as cunnilinctors by females.

Extramarital exploits are most carefully concealed in 837 521
most cases, but news generally leaks out, as it is seldom possible to conceal anything for long in communities of between

/91 cont./ sturdy physique which usually involves larger breasts; nevertheless, breasts are of relatively small importance when compared with genital qualities. 114 826 832

There is little data from earlier periods concerning the prevalence of masturbation and other forms of sexual play among children. Linton /92/ notes that mutual masturbation was practiced, labeling it "homosexuality" (1938, p. 168), which it is not for the culture in question. Linton also states that sexual play was practiced from earliest ages, but is not specific as to the practices involved. 175 864 [114] [838]

Puberty

The behaviors and attitudes surrounding cleanliness and especially genital cleanliness that characterize the Marquesan culture today appear to have their roots in the aboriginal past. Marquesan legends (Handy 1928), make frequent reference to the constant bathing practiced, especially by younger individuals. Numerous references are also available to native cosmetics, flower wreaths, and herbal packages which were used to reduce body odor (Handy 1923, pp. 289-298, Fr. S. Delmas Ms in Taiohae Mission Library). While the present emphasis on cleanliness is therefore an aboriginal survival, the use of native cosmetics and deodorants has diminished considerably in the face of the easily available European cosmetics. Missionary efforts were devoted to stamping out the use of 'eka or turmeric, which was believed by the missionaries to be inextricably associated with sexuality in the native eyes. As a consequence, it is never seen in use at present, except in food, where it is used as a flavoring. 515 173 [183] [302] 302 177 [182] [197] [831] [263]

Circumcision as it is currently practiced in the Marquesas bears considerable resemblance to the aboriginal practices. In the past as today, groups of boys were circumcised together; the technique of the operation has remained unchanged, and the modern native medical /93/ practices used to promote healing are also recorded for the aboriginal period (Handy, pp. 94-5). However, the entire complex of ceremonialism and religious restrictions surrounding this event involving seclusion, dietary restriction, and various other religious 182 304 881 182

/107 cont./ 114 562 833 [177]
basis for believing that this situation is the result of culture contact; if anything, the reverse might be expected on the basis of what we know of the spreading Christian morality. Furthermore, there are not, at present, any practices of inorgasmic play in evidence among Marquesan youths, nor is there any evidence of such a thing having existed. On the contrary, homosexual and solitary sexual outlets among [864] children undoubtedly were allowed in the past to culminate in orgasm from the time at which such an event was physiologically possible. This evidence, coupled with that of the short duration of the sex act and the frequency of serial intercourse episodes in which the girl submitted to as many as 40 males in succession, can hardly support an hypothesis of female dominance in the sex act, either for the aboriginal period or /108/ ethnographic present.

A final point concerning Marquesan sexual techniques 833 may be made. Linton stated that the sex act in the Marquesas was characterized by a considerably amount of scratching and biting by both partners. Some interesting information was elicited from informants on this particular point: scratching (nini'e), pinching (ki'i naku), and biting (moma, kai) were [115] reported by nearly all elderly informants as having been a technique employed only infrequently in premarital sexual [836] intercourse in the past, and especially with the community's promiscuous girls. When a male partner was known by a girl to have a semipermanent relationship with another girl or to be married, she might resort to scratching and biting to mark the man so that his deed would be quite obvious and he [837] would be afraid to return to his love or wife. Many informants viewed this as a nasty trick for a girl to play on a married man. With unmarried males, the scars of such [554] sexual encounters became symbols of prestige, however; furthermore, it was pointed out that young men would go to great lengths to find a girl that would treat them in this fashion and they would take every opportunity to display their wounds to admiring comrades.

The homosexual activity which begins at an early age 182 in both sexes at present was apparently characteristic of 838

/108 cont./
aboriginal culture as well. It is important to recall that no stigma is attached by the culture at present to these casual relations. The stigma is reserved at present for habitual homosexual and/or transvestite (mahu), who prefers homosexual to heterosexual relations. The role of mahu existed in the /109/ aboriginal culture, being described by Handy (1923, p. 103) as being acted by those who devoted themselves to the activities and relationships of women.

Comparing the data obtained on incest tapu with that in the ethnographic record, some changes are noticed. First, there was a lack of emphasis on cross-cousin marriage as being ideal as it was in aboriginal times, and, hence, there was a lack of emphasis on the sexual accessibility of cross uncles and aunts to ego (a permissive sexual relationship between parents-in-law and children-in-law obtained in the past as at present).

At present, the same general categories of relationships are excluded from indulging in relations as were in the past, but there appears to be some pressure being exerted on the sanctions against relations between parallel cousins. This is probably due to the fact that in the seriously depleted population, a man's opportunities for sexual intercourse are quite restricted normally. Many of the individuals in the area where he resides will often be relatives within the bounds of the incest tapu. It frequently becomes a necessity, then, to seek sexual outlets among people within the limits of the incest tapu. As relations between parallel cousins seem to provoke less emotion than brother-sister incest, for example, it is little wonder that relations between cousins occur with some frequency.

There is no historical or ethnographic data available from other sources on practices involving sexual relations with animals or inanimate objects. It should be noted that a frequently recurring element in Marquesan legends is that of sexual relations between women and eels, however, while the god Tiki is reputed to have created man by copulating with a female figure made /110/ of beach sand, in the same fashion as Marquesan boys currently copulate with sand effigies in sexual play.